1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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distance toward the triangular ceremonial ground and sits down again. While he does this the male chorus sings out the refrain of the Ulmark. The leader also calls out the taboo names of this variety of pigeon. The dancer rises and, when he reaches the ceremonial drum, thrusts the bird emblem into the tail end of the drum as far as his arm will reach. He then dances around to the other end of the drum and pulls the pigeon out at that end. He dances up to the head of the dance ground, returns to the drum and once more pushes the pigeon emblem into the drum, this time at the head end, and pulls it out on the opposite side. The Straits Pigeon dance is repeated for several days, and occasionally weeks, before it is abandoned for the next part of the Ulmark sequence.

Native Interpretation.—(1) This means "Wongar snake came out of his well and ate this Wongar pigeon all the same as the rock python snake today. He ate this pigeon before he ate those two women."

E. The Stone Spear-head Dance

1. Parrot-feather string is brought out of the men's baskets and is placed over the ironwood stakes.

1. When the pigeon dance is over, the four kangaroo messengers, who have kept their new parrot-feather ceremonial string ornament hidden in their personal baskets until this time, bring it out and wrap it around two small slabs of ironwood which are supposed to be stone spear heads and are inserted into spear shafts. The four men then stand in a line, one behind the other; the first and the last carry the spear emblems in the crook of their elbows. They dance up to the tail of the snake ground and then across it to the head where the chorus stands, hesitate, and then go back to the tail again. This is repeated a number of times while the chorus sings out the Ulmark refrain and the leader calls out the taboo names of stone spear heads. None of the youths being initiated is allowed to see this section of the Ulmark, which is called by the taboo name of the stone spear head (Mar-ul-pul).

Native Interpretation.—The ironwood stakes symbolize stone spear heads and are also associated with women, who use ironwood stakes as digging sticks. The two sisters were carrying the spear heads in their baskets. They "walked around their camp at the time of the rain with a stone spear looking for the snake to hit and stop him. The two women walked in a line."—"That small sister said, 'What will we do with this one [the head of the spear in her basket]?' The older sister said, 'Take

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

There are two bark paintings illustrating the dugong hunt at the totemic place of the *Mokoi*, between Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw.

Plate 111A shows two *Mokoi* in a canoe hunting four dugongs. The black line between the two lower dugongs is the long dugong spear. The white cross-hatching in this panel indicates the rough seas which allowed the dugongs to escape. The upper and lower left-hand panels, *a* and *c*, are sand-banks near the totemic place of the dugongs and *b* is a mythical stingray. By burying itself in the sand the stingray has clouded the water so much that it has the appearance of smoke, indicated by cross-hatching.

Plate 111D deals with the same totemic place as the previous painting. On the lower right are two *Mokoi* in their canoe, and below them three queen fish, *tinimbu*. In the left-hand panel the four dugongs are being hunted by the *Mokoi* and on the upper right is the upturned canoe of the hunters, now a large rock on the seashore. Cross-hatching, as before, indicates rough seas which prevented the capture of the dugongs.

The Mokoi, Delururu, Rangi-rangi and Kultana

Two brothers, *Delururu* and *Rangi-rangi*, accompanied by *Kultana*, who carry the spirits of the *jiritja* dead to their heaven, left Nalkuna in their canoe, *Lampu*, and paddled to the totemic place of the *Mokoi* at Cape Arnhem to spear dugongs. They had captured several and were resting on the beach when they saw a mortal man searching for turtle eggs. This gave the party such a fright that they hurried back to their canoe and paddled homeward as quickly as possible.[95]

In the centre of Pl. 111B are three *Mokoi* in their wooden canoe, called *Lampu*,[96] who have just speared a dugong. Reading from the left, their names are *Delururu*, *Rangi-rangi* and *Kultana*. The cross-hatching around the dugong is the rough sea water and the triangular patterns, *a*, the cumulus clouds created by the serpent, *bilumbira*. Above the canoe are five queen fish, *tinimbu*.

The Mokoi, Jambula and Bulanuna

Two *Mokoi*, a father, *Jambula*, and his son, *Bulanuna*, went to sea in their canoe, called *Tamalania*,[97] and speared a hawksbill turtle. This they took to a locality at Cape Arnhem, cooked and ate it. The canoe and the turtle are now parts of the topography of the coast of Cape Arnhem.

At *a*, on the right-hand panel of Pl. 111C, is *Jambula*, left, and his son, *Bulanuna*, returning to land with the turtle they have captured lying in the bottom of the canoe. An octopus and two queen fish are in the same panel. When, in still weather, these queen fish jump out of the water they cause the

95. This is a myth similar to that of *Birikiri* depicted on the engraved paddle, Fig. 58F.

96. Wooden canoes are *jiritja* and bark canoes *dua*. This conforms to the custom of the aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land of placing all modern objects in the *jiritja* moiety and the ancient ones in the *dua*. The canoes of the spirit people all have special names.

97. The aborigines have personal names for themselves, their dogs and their canoes.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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sleep feeling hungry, and dreamt about this Kunapipi. That is, he went back to his "Dreaming" for consolation. [528]

Most of this dream too consists of description of ritual, but not in conventional sequence. Some interesting aspects appear, which amplify our previous discussion of the Kunapipi. There is complete identification of the *jelmalandji* with the Julunggul Snake. But Gumuk re-interpreted the *kanala* and *nanggaru* in commenting on his dream. He said that the *nanggaru* was actually the "Mother's" (that is, the Wauwalak's) uterus, while the *kanala* was the channel ("river") or passage of the vagina, "through which people passed in the Dreaming" (that is, during the period when the Wauwalak walked the earth). He was possibly interpolating here his own theory as to the meaning of these symbols, for usually the *kanala* is the uterus and the *nanggaru* the place of the big Snake. This individual interpretation, however, is extremely valuable; for it is far more logical to classify the *nanggaru*, which is round or oval, as a uterus, and the *kanala*, narrow and resembling a channel, as a vagina. Gumuk's reference to people passing through the *kanala* in the "Dreaming period", is connected with the idea that the Mother "let out" people from her womb, so that they could perform sacred ritual, returning when this was completed. This aspect is not apparent in Yirrkalla mythology; Gumuk possibly assimilated it from Rose River, where Kunapipi ritual has a stronger hold of the people's imagination and sacred activity, and where it is more likely to be influenced by external features. [177]

The calling of the sacred alternate names for the Lightning dancing, the bullroarer and its string, the *kanala* and *nanggaru*, as well as for the *jelmalandji*, has not been mentioned before in our discussion. The concept is found, however, in the calling of the *bukali* (*dua*) or *bukalilji* (*jiritja*), or "power" names of invocation, and some of these are widely distributed. The use of the term *djamala*, in reference to the "Lightning whipping" dance, is equivalent to the *djamala mareiin* mentioned in Chapter IV, which consists of the throwing of firesticks; both refer to the Snake's sending lightning so that a tree was split and the Wauwalak were frightened. The climax of Gumuk's dream is the breaking of the bullroarer's string while it is being twirled: it flies through the air and splits a tree, but is itself undamaged. This symbolizes Julunggul's act of sending lightning to split a tree, for the bullroarer "is like the Snake" (that is, part of its spirit), and its whirling "like lightning". It is the natural culmination of the *djamala* dancing around the *nanggaru* and *kanala*. [552]

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The final dream also belongs to Gumuk.[5]

"I have been dreaming about Kunapipi, and two 'Dreaming' men [574]

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5. Reference: Book 12, Series A, Dec. 27th, 1946.

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
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to, or association with, a totemic ancestor or a clan totem.

In the second category fall all things ordinary, non-sacred, called *wäkkinŋu*, which in its literal translation means rubbishy, uncouth, outlandish, but is used also to denote merely the category of the non-sacred or "profane" in contrast with *yarkomirri*.

The first category, which comprises objects called *märdai'-inboi* or *yarkomirri*, includes such things as the fine ceremonial armlets made from material which has been removed from the actual totem after the *ŋarra* ceremony, and sent as gifts to friends in other clans. In addition, it includes all weapons and implements, such as canoe paddles, certain spears, baskets of special type, and smoking pipes which carry the *mintji*, the special totemic patterns of the clan, to one of the totems of which they have been dedicated. This dedication may take the form merely of the giving of the sacred name, after which the object becomes *yarkomirri*, or it may constitute a more elaborate ceremony in which the *dälkärramirri*—the "caller of big names"—in his capacity of high priest, calls ceremonially over the object, the sacred *därrpäl* (hidden) names of the appropriate totem, thereby consecrating it. Thenceforth it becomes sacred. It is "*yarkomirri*". If it is a spear, game killed with it becomes *duyu* (tabu), if a canoe paddle, all food taken from the canoe propelled by the paddle is also tabu. Its chief attribute is that it possesses *marr*, spiritual power derived from the totem or totemic ancestor whose name it bears. Its use is prohibited to all but fully initiated men of the particular clan (or associated group of clans) from which it came, and in the case of the special, sacred *mintji* or painted designs, may not even be looked upon by profane eyes. To possess these objects carries prestige, and their *marr* imparts power and strength as well as *tjämbait*—hunting prowess,

431 fish spears), iron bars or rods used for digging and for the
439 manufacture of spear blades, and especially *källämba*—the closely woven forehead fillets worn during the *kunabibbi* ceremony—which come up from the neighbourhood of Katherine and Mataranka and from the cattle stations in the south, by way of the Wilton River and Mainoru Station whence they are carried north by the Raimbaräŋa and
[552] Ritar'ŋo people. The tradition which lays down the *gerri* derived from each quarter is so well established that the name of the *kumur* serves also as the collective term for the *gerri* which characterise it. The flint spear heads which come from ŋillipidji under the ceremonial exchange system may be referred to equally correctly as *ŋämbi* or *djalk*. And again, any calico, wool or other material which is associated with the Macassar visitors.

431 It is an understood thing that no object is passed back to the quarter from which it came. Thus a *kaiyit*, an iron-headed spear, that came from the east (from *miwait*) is constantly passed westward, and must not return to *miwait*. This is so much a part of the tradition that when a man is asked for a spear, knife, or other object with which he does not wish to part, not infrequently he replies that it came from *kätjirk*, or whatever the country of the person seeking the *gerri* may be, with the inference that it may not return to the same *kumur*, and so averts the embarrassment of a direct refusal. But it is obvious that this rule is not inflexible and that in practice, with so many changes of hands, *gerri* may be dispersed widely, while still maintaining the general direction. This has already been illustrated in the case of *ŋämbi* (page 65), which, though having only one place of origin at ŋillipidji, may actually reach a given area, e.g. Mildjiŋi territory on the Lower Glyde River, by circuitous, as well as by the direct route,

from *kumur djalk*. But because of its known origin, a *ŋämbi lirra* (flint spear head) is always known as *kumur djalk*, and for this reason it would not be appropriate for a man to the north to pass *ŋämbi lirra* as *wetj* to a partner in the south-east.

In order to understand the complicated system surrounding the exchange of gifts and the sharing of food and game it would be necessary to have not only a thorough working knowledge of the kinship system and the obligations, unilateral and reciprocal, laid down by its terminology, but also to understand each of the special relationships which, in addition to those arising from kinship, may exist between members of the society.

To avoid further extending this account, I shall refer to one only of these special relationships. This is *tjukarŋo*, a term used reciprocally between individuals who stand in one of two relationships under the kinship system; *wawamändji*[41] (*wawa*, brother; *-mändji*, those two) or *marimändji*, i.e. *mari* ⇌ *kutara*, (mother's mother's brother ⇌ sister's daughter's son). Where these people stand in the relationship of brother they are usually half-brothers, the sons of women who are sisters, especially of sisters who have married men of clans on opposite sides of their own clan territories. Another factor is that often the relationship of *tjukarŋo* has existed between the mothers—who are not full or half-sisters—for it may exist between women as well as men. A man extends the same term also to brothers and sisters of his *tjukarŋo*.

Tjukarŋo is a very special relationship, the closest and most permanent that can exist between men.

[41] The suffix *-mändji* denotes mutual relationship together, i.e. *wawa-mändji*, brothers together; *wawa* is really elder brother but is used in this connection to express the relationship between brothers.